

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 364.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (^{Post Free} 1d.)



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When called upon to do something to stem the rise in food prices, or to stop the ejection by farmers of soldiers' wives from their homes



MR. ASQUITH

When called upon to consider the proposal to enfranchise every man of twenty-one who has enlisted in the Army or Navy

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JOIN U.S.!

A membership form will be found on page 184 showing the aims and objects of the United Suffragists. This is no moment to sit on the fence, or to remain an onlooker while others do all the work. A well-known Anti-Suffragist, Mr. Holford Knight, has this week recanted in favour of granting votes to women because the war has made him see both the justice and the necessity of this course. There must be many others like him, as well as many who, before the war revealed to them the women's share in the burdens and the sufferings of citizenship, were indifferent but are so no longer to the women's claim to the rights of citizenship. To all these, whether men or women, we appeal to do the honest and the helpful thing by becoming one of US without delay.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.

We have to thank many friends both for personal help and for gifts to the club. Miss Mears, of North Shields, has sent us a sewing machine; Mrs. Tbbotson Hutt a gas stove; and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck has given a much-needed tin case for the secretary's office. The

membership of the club is increasing steadily, and, judging by the remarks of those who use it, it is much appreciated. The following gifts will be welcomed at the Club: Tea, cake, butter, sugar, cocoa, coffee essence, biscuits, jam, marmalade.

taken the important work of inspecting posters that are already paid for:—Miss Dorothy Gould and Mrs. Agnes Henry (London), Miss Florence Sinclair (Eastbourne), Mrs. Moore (Ramsgate), Mrs. Mary Evans (Sheffield), Mrs. Roberts (Southport).

Another Way of helping

Another way of helping is to obtain new annual subscribers to the paper. The more annual subscribers we have on our list the easier it is for us to calculate our resources. We therefore call upon every reader of these words to cut out and fill in the subscription form on this page and forward it to us with 6s. 6d., without delay.

"WANTED, AN ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION"

Our recent appeal for a friendly reader to pay the subscription of a working woman who had to give up her *VOTES FOR WOMEN* owing to "bad times" has been answered. Another proof of comradeship!

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Owing to the curtailment of many of the train services on account of military exigencies,

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it is possible that the delivery of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** outside London may be to some extent delayed in the immediate future.

A Correction

We regret that in acknowledging in our issue of last week the generous gift of foodstuffs sent to the U.S. Women's Club from our kinsfolk in Australia it was made to appear that Queensland is in Canada. But what is in a name when both countries represent many thousands of fellow Suffragists, anxious to help their sisters in the mother country at this hour of stress and anxiety?

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Stories of the Kaiser and His Ancestors." By Clare Jerrold. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 2s. net.)

"The Century Magazine." February. (New York. Price 35 cents.)

"German Spies in England." By Wm. le Queux. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 1s. net.)

"The Great Adventure." By A. Maude Royden. (London: Headley Bros. Price 2d.)

"How the War Came." (London: I.L.P. Price 1d.)

"Is Britain Blameless?" By A. Fenner Brockway. (London: I.L.P. Price 1d.)

Outdoor Meetings

Monday, March 1; 3 p.m.—Corner Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Mrs. Gregory.

Friday, March 5; 8 p.m.—Corner Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Miss Fraser Smith.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Margaret Haly, 19, New Street

A Members' Meeting was held in the office on Wednesday, 17th, when it was settled: (1) That a Members' Meeting should be held in 19, New Street, once a month. This, with the monthly Public Meeting, will make two meetings a month, one every fortnight. (2) That the Members' Meetings should be thrown open to friends and sympathisers. (3) The members present undertook to pay 6d. a week towards the office rent. Absent members, please note. The next Members' Meeting will be on March 17, at 8 p.m.

The bills for Mr. Scurr's meeting will be in the office on Wednesday, 24th. Will the bill distributors give all available time for the street distribution of these, and also of the leaflets "Why We Keep the Suffrage Flag Flying"? See "Campaign" for public meetings.

The Committee thank Mrs. Brewster for her gift of jam, which has sold well.

It has been decided that Walsall shall unite with the Birmingham U.S.

NEW BRANCHES

Manchester and Glasgow

Readers of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** and all sympathisers, both in Manchester and in Glasgow, are asked to send in their names at once to Mr. Charles Gray (Branches Organiser), at 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C., with a view to becoming members and workers of the new U.S. branches about to be formed in these two cities.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

More Poster Inspectors!

We have great pleasure in announcing that we have received in two cases 25s. for the purpose of paying for the exposition of a **VOTES FOR WOMEN** poster for one year. Mrs. Raymond Prothero has kindly sent us this sum; while in the other case, Mrs. Roberts, of Southport, collected the amount from the following group of members:—Mrs. Greswell, Miss Henry, Mrs. Kay, Miss Phyllis Lovell, Mrs. Roberts, Miss Kate Ryley, Miss Williams. This is an admirable way of combining to pay for the upkeep of a poster, the showing of which on a railway bookstall or elsewhere is one of the most satisfactory ways of spreading the circulation and educating public opinion.

The following members have kindly under-

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

After we go to press on Wednesday the debate on the second reading of the Bill to amend the Defence of the Realm Act will take place in the House of Commons. The main object of the Bill is to restore to British civilians the right to trial by the ordinary courts, and our chief concern with it here is to lay stress on the fact that by excluding aliens from the benefits of the Amending Bill all British wives of aliens will still be subject to trial by court-martial should they offend against any of the numerous provisions of the original Act. Is it too much to hope that steps will be taken before the Amending Bill becomes law to include these our actual countrywomen within its jurisdiction?

Stricken Women and Children

Truly, there should not be an Anti-Suffragist left among those who base their opposition to the woman's vote on the theory that men are the sole victims of war. In answer to a question in the House last Monday, the Prime Minister stated that the total number of women killed during the recent East Coast raid was thirty-nine, and of children thirty-nine also. The total number of women wounded in Hartlepool and Whitby was 133, and of children 177. The twelfth report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry has just been issued, and reveals the same dreary story of suffering and death in these two non-combatant classes, with the horrors of rape and outrage added. We should say nothing of all this if women were on an equal footing with men in relation to the great issues of peace and war. But as long as they have no voice in either, the poignancy of the terrible price they pay when their country goes to war without their consent, or patches up an inconclusive peace without their consent, is increased tenfold.

A Trade Union for Soldiers' Wives

In view of the continued unsatisfactory nature of the way separation allowances are paid to the wives and families of soldiers and sailors—many representations were made in the House last week with reference to the delay in making these payments and their insufficiency owing to the increased cost of living—there is considerable interest attached to the announcement that a League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives has been formed to protect the interests of all wives, mothers and other relatives of soldiers and sailors, and to secure for them adequate separation allowances and pensions, to act on their behalf in all cases of neglect and delay, and generally to obtain an improvement in their conditions.

Mrs. Despard is President of the League, and Mrs. George Lansbury, Secretary—names that are in themselves a guarantee of efficiency; while two-thirds of the Committee consist of soldiers' and sailors' wives or other relatives. Judging by the success of the concerted protest made by the soldiers' wives of Preston against the circular placing them under police super-

vision, we hope for great results from this new organization. The Women's Local Government Society, we are glad to see, has petitioned Lord Kitchener for the withdrawal, in addition to the suspension, of the insulting circular in question.

Driven to Suicide

It is time, indeed, that soldiers' wives had their own Trade Union, if only for the protection of women like Mrs. Muriel Scott, who appeared in Hampstead Police Court last Saturday to answer to a charge of attempted suicide. She had lost her work through the war, and was told by the Royal Garrison Artillery Records Office that she was not entitled to a separation allowance because her husband, whom she had married off the strength, is quartered at Aden, which for the purposes of administering these payments, is situated in India! A statement was made in Court that the S.S.F.A. were arranging to get her into a home, and would afterwards send her to her parents in New Zealand. But why should this poor woman be first made an outcast and then separated—permanently, we should imagine, in view of the distance—from her husband? We could wish that those who talk of the sanctity of marriage, when payments to unmarried wives are in question, would concentrate their energies on making such stories as Mrs. Scott's impossible.

Food Prices and Women's Wages

It is all very well for members of Parliament to talk about a possible rise in wages as the natural way of meeting the actual rise in the

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COME TO-DAY
(Thursday, February 25, at 8 p.m.)
TO THE
KINGSWAY HALL

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AGNES HARBN, MR. H. W. NEVINSON, MISS EVELYN
SHARP, MR. JOHN SCURR,

ON
WOMEN AND PEACE!
Admission, 2/6. 1/- & 6d.

price of food. If those members were responsible to women their constituents could tell them, first, that prices rise suddenly and with terrible effect, while wages rise so gradually that the effect from week to week is hardly perceptible. (It is another case of the old proverb, "While the grass grows the steed starves.") And secondly, women constituents would ask what kind of increase in wages would meet the rising price of food in such cases of women's employment as the following: Making toothbrushes for the army, 5d. (formerly 4½d.) a dozen, which means a rate of 2½d. an hour; making shirts for the army at 3s. a dozen, which means a maximum of 3d. an hour, not reckoning the cotton, which the worker supplies; trouser finishing for the army at 2s. 9d. a dozen, less 1½d. for thread; this also works out at about 3d. an hour, and the Trade Board rate for tailoring is 3½d. When the purchasing power of a sovereign is admitted by members of Parliament to have sunk to 16s., or even 15s., what rise of wages do they propose for those sweated women who are working for the public service but have no voice whatever in public control?

Child Labour and Cheap Labour

In spite of the assurances given in the House of Commons by the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture that it is the policy of the Board to encourage the use of all forms of adult labour in preference to withdrawing children from school, the statistics collected by the Workers

National Committee, and quoted by Mrs. Florence E. Hobson in a letter to the Press, show that the evil of child labour in agriculture is already a fact. "Must we," she asks, "have a new army of agricultural child-martyrs to take their place beside the child-martyrs of industry, the story of whose sufferings is one of the blackest pages in our history?" The answer, to use a depressing Parliamentary formula, will continue to be in the affirmative, we fear, as long as women are denied their enfranchisement and the power to influence such vital questions as their own status in the labour market and the physical welfare of the coming generation.

Women Doctors and the War

When the horrors of the European war have become a nightmare of the past the splendid work done by women doctors at the front will long be remembered as one of the few inspiring incidents of this terrible period. At a meeting held in Sunderland House last week to promote the extension of the London (Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine for Women, Surgeon-General Sir Alfred Keogh, K.C.B., spoke of the numbers of unsolicited letters he had received from Paris and Boulogne (Wimereux) stating that the work of our women doctors there was beyond all praise. So impressed had he been that he had asked two of them (Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray) to come over here and take charge of a hospital of 500 beds, or, if they pleased, of a hospital of 1,000 beds. We understand that Dr. Garrett Anderson, who is an honoured Vice-President of the United Suffragists, is about to organize the work of a hospital of 520 beds for wounded soldiers in or near London, with a staff of eight women doctors. It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to *Jus Suffragii*—that admirable International Suffrage organ—the first woman army doctor in Germany has just been appointed in Dr. Elisabeth Reinecke, who has been given the charge of a military hospital.

International Women's Congress

An interesting women's meeting is to be held this (Friday) evening at Caxton Hall, Westminster, to consider the constitution and programme of the International Women's Congress, which will be held, probably towards the end of April, at the Hague. Some of the subjects on the programme are Protest against War; Arbitration and Conciliation; Women's Claim to Have a Voice in the Peace Settlement; the Subjection of Foreign Policy to Democratic Control, dependent upon the Equal Representation of Men and Women. The proposed Congress is the outcome of a meeting of representative women, both from neutral and belligerent nations, which took place at Amsterdam on February 12 and 13, as the result of a growing feeling among women that problems arising out of the present war and the peace settlement that is to follow should be faced and discussed by them. Miss Chrystal Macmillan is temporary Honorary Secretary for Great Britain, and all women interested are invited to attend the meeting in the Caxton Hall.

Items of Interest

We draw attention to the account given on page 182 of the remarkable Suffrage successes recently won in America. The most important aspect of the matter is that for the first time the Legislatures of two Southern States have voted by large majorities to submit the Suffrage amendment to the referendum of the voters.

On Wednesday morning the Crimean Memorial was unveiled at Waterloo Place. We should feel the occasion of a European war to be a fitting one on which to honour the memory of "The Lady of the Lamp" had it not been also chosen by the Red Cross Society as a suitable moment for reducing the salaries of nurses serving at the front by 50 per cent.

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* the Rev. Spencer Elliott, Diocesan Minister, says: "We are failing to learn the lessons of the war if we do not see in it an urgent call to set our own house in order." United Suffragists are of the same opinion.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in **VOTES FOR WOMEN** should be sent to The Editors, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; Messrs. Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta; and at Handel House, Ltd., Elloff Street, Johannesburg.

The WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a **CAFÉ CHANTANT** at CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER (Nearest Station: St. James's Park, District Railway).

THURSDAY & FRIDAY, March 11 & 12, 1915,

From 3.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m.

Admission (including Tea), 1/-, before 6 o'clock. Admission only, after 6 o'clock, 6d. Men in uniform half-price.

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FULL PARTICULARS—SECRETARY.

Meetings.—Friday, Feb. 26th, at 8 p.m., Concert in Aid of the Women's Suffrage National Aid Corps.

Tuesday, March 2nd, at 8 p.m., International Suffrage Shop. (For particulars, see handbills.)

Wednesday, March 3rd, at 8.30 p.m., Women's Freedom League.

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Telephone:—Holborn 5880 (2 lines).

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1915.

WHAT WE MEAN BY PEACE

In the House of Commons, on Thursday in last week, Lord Charles Beresford asked the Prime Minister whether he would consider the desirability of arranging that every man who has volunteered for the war shall be entitled at the age of twenty-one to a Parliamentary vote during his lifetime, irrespective of other qualifications. Mr. Terrell, M.P., went further, and suggested that these men who, not being unfit for service, have failed thus to recognise their duty to the country shall be disfranchised. The Prime Minister said in his reply that both suggestions "will be duly considered."

Suffragists have no cause to attach undue importance to any assurance of Mr. Asquith's with regard to the consideration of a franchise proposal. We have not forgotten the fate of a Suffrage Bill that depended for its passage into law upon a pledge made by him that was to be kept "both in the letter and the spirit." Nor is it any immediate concern of ours upon what particular qualification the franchise for men shall be based. But we cannot overlook the significance of the Prime Minister's acquiescence in the suggestion that a suffrage proposal, which, if adopted, will revolutionise the whole principle and meaning of the franchise law in this country, shall be "considered" at a moment when, to quote from his own speech of February 3, "six millions of men in arms are fighting one another to the death." He has in fact eaten the words of his statement made on the reassembling of Parliament, that no controversial matter can be discussed during the present Session, a statement held by many to preclude the possibility of the introduction of a Woman Suffrage measure as long as the European conflict endures. No one can possibly maintain that a militarist proposal to base the rights of citizenship upon a man's fitness and willingness to enter the Army or Navy is a non-contentious proposal. Beside it, our own modest claim, that advantage be taken of the Party truce to enfranchise women on a non-party basis, by the simple removal of the sex disqualification, assumes a non-controversial aspect of milk-white mildness.

But, it may be urged, although the only political objection to our demand has thus been swept away by the Prime Minister's answer to Lord Charles Beresford and Mr. Terrell, is it in any sense a practicable demand to make at such a time as this? We have no hesitation in saying that war time, far from being unfavourable to the settlement of the problems of peace, is the psychological moment for dealing with such problems. War—it is its one good point—is so overwhelming in its hideousness that it chastens while it tears men's hearts; while it hounds men on to destroy one another on the battlefield, it draws them together at home and heals their ancient differences as if by magic. An extension of freedom to women, the suggestion of which would have roused a scream of controversy in the stormy domestic period of peace that preceded the war, has already been made in the scientific world and has been greeted with scarcely a comment except the favourable ones of the feminist Press. What has been done by the Royal Astronomical Society can be done by the nation, as represented by the Government, and with far more reason; for surely, never have women shown more clearly than now

their share in the nation's sufferings and their right to a share in its choice of government. Mr. Holford Knight, hitherto a determined opponent of women's enfranchisement and, we believe, the first to organise opinion against it by founding an Anti-Suffrage Society, has just confessed as much in a frank and courageous letter written to the *Nation*, in which he says:—

In my view, this horrible war destroys the grounds on which Liberals have resisted the inclusion of women in the electorate. At the close of the war there is bound to be a shifting of electoral issues to industrial, economic, and domestic questions, in which women will be not only directly interested but actively participant in their settlement. . . . No class of the community on which such a judgment can be given ought to be excluded from the electorate by Liberal votes.

But it is not mainly on account of what will follow after peace is declared that we consider our demand for women's enfranchisement an expedient one to make while war is still going on. When Mr. Runciman observed in the House of Commons last week—he was speaking of Socialist proposals, but his remark would refer equally to any effort to reform existing evils—that it is useless to attempt "to bring about a millennium in the middle of a great war," he showed still less vision than we have learnt to expect even from the speeches made in that reactionary Chamber. He ignored, to begin with, that much greater war which never ends, in which women, unlike the men reformers whom Mr. Runciman was specially addressing, fight with no hope of victory because they are deprived of the weapon of the vote. His words, if applied by us to our own case, would have ignored the fact that, while in war time women are expected to call a truce in their struggle for political liberty, the Government is apparently expected to call no truce in its perpetual encroachments upon those few liberties that women already possess. We need not recall here the shameful way in which soldiers' and sailors' wives have been subjected to the spying of the police, or in which the most defenceless women of the community have been court-martialled and illegally imprisoned, or the attempts to render Josephine Butler's life-work abortive by tentative proposals for reviving the State Regulation of Vice. If the middle of a great war is not the moment to try to establish the millennium, it is emphatically the moment at which we are called upon to fight more strenuously than ever before for the retention of those liberties we had innocently thought unassailable.

Mr. Runciman in his uninspired remark ignored, however, a much wider issue than any immediate one brought about by the military exigencies of the moment. In recognising the tragedy of countries laid waste and human life sacrificed, he overlooked the greater tragedy that would be involved in the cessation of all effort on the part of non-combatants to avert the awful results of war. First among non-combatants we unhesitatingly place those who still keep the Suffrage Flag flying; and it is a matter for rejoicing among the angels, not for jesting on the Front Bench, that we have among us any who go on hoping to establish the millennium now because it is never so much needed as in the middle of a great war. In the midst of the great orgy of death and destruction the world has ever seen, our only sustaining thought is our hope of a future so unlike the past, that the past, please God, can never be born again; a future in which Peace shall mean Peace, and not merely the convalescence of War. That is the future to which all eyes, those of the Government, we make no doubt, as well as ours, are directed; without its vision at this terrible time of crisis we should surely die. But it is a vision hopeless of realisation unless, when the peace settlement comes, women have secured the right to have an equal voice with men in that settlement. Therefore, inspired by a great hope, and backed by a reasonable and practical demand, we call upon the Prime Minister, before he "considers" fancy franchise proposals for men, to bring in a Government measure granting to women the rights that have been so long and unjustly withheld from them.

FELLOWSHIP

By G. Colmore

Mrs. Mullaby lived in a cottage that looked as if it would fall down if you kicked it. The cottage consisted of two rooms and a lean-to which was supposed to be a scullery. Mrs. Mullaby slept in the one bedroom; Bill had to sleep in the kitchen. Bill was her grandson. He had been his mother's disgrace and the cause of her death; he had begun by being his grandmother's burden, a legacy linked with shame, and had ended by becoming her pride, her treasure, the light of her eyes. The war broke out, and Bill went to the war.

All day long, as soon as she had done her clearing up, Mrs. Mullaby sat and knitted. There was a weekly working-party in the village, and Mrs. Mullaby went to it and knitted hard, and some of the members took away work to do at home, and of these members was Mrs. Mullaby. But the working-party and the tasks dealt out by it did not fill the measure of Mrs. Mullaby's knitting capacity, and she spent a large part of a very small income upon wool, and knitted, knitted, knitted till her head grew dazed and her fingers numb. The vicar's wife knitted much, and the squire's wife knitted more, but Mrs. Mullaby knitted most of all.

Then came the day when everybody in the village knew that Bill had been killed in the trenches. They didn't know it from Mrs. Mullaby, for Mrs. Mullaby didn't come out all day, no, not though there was her black to see about.

It was dark when Mrs. Parsons went to the tumble-down cottage. Mrs. Parsons was the one to go, because her Bert was at the front too. It was a good thing, the neighbours had said, that Mrs. Mullaby was so set on knitting—her knitting would take her mind off a bit perhaps. But when Mrs. Parsons went in, Mrs. Mullaby wasn't knitting. She was sitting with her hands folded over a letter that lay open in her lap, a letter that began:

"Dear Granny,—I now take up my pen to write you these few lines, hoping it finds you well as it leaves me at present. . . ."

The knitting lay, partly unravelled, before the fireless grate; one needle was under the table, the other in a corner.

"Mrs. Mullaby!" said Mrs. Parsons, "Mrs. Mullaby!"

But Mrs. Mullaby did not answer.

Presently Mrs. Parsons tried again. "Mrs. Mullaby, I'm agoin' to light the fire and make you a cup of tea. And then—and then—ain't there a bit of knittin' you wants to get through with?"

Then at last Mrs. Mullaby spoke. "There ain't no tea in the 'ouse," she said, "and I ain't goin' to knit no more." She turned and looked at Mrs. Parsons with heavy, unblinking eyes. "I knitted an' I knitted, gettin' up early of a mornin' and settin' as late of a night as I could afford the light, in the 'opes if I looked after the soldiers, as 'twas said in the sermon was our bounden duty, as One Above ud look after Bill. When I got this 'ere"—she laid her hand upon the letter—"I says to myself I says, 'You've got to go without yer tea and get more wool, cos it's answerin', I says, it's answerin'.' But now—" Mrs. Mullaby paused, and in the pause Mrs. Parsons found nothing to say. The only sound till the dried-up voice went on again was a rustle of paper as the letter slid from Mrs. Mullaby's lap.

"Now, wot with Lord Kitchener an' wot

with the Kaser, 'e's done for, an' One Above ain't took no notice. I s'pose," Mrs. Mullaby added slowly, "there's such a many as is knittin' these days. But I'm darned," she ended emphatically, "if I knits any more."

In the dusk the two women sat silent: Mrs. Mullaby was stiff and rigid, Mrs. Parsons' hands trembled. Presently Mrs. Mullaby got up and lighted the lamp; it was her habit to light it when she could no longer see the clock's face, and custom fulfilled itself. Then Mrs. Parsons spoke.

"A many an' a many, yes," she said, "knittin' an' waitin'. There's me with my Bert an' Mrs. Rose an' Mrs. Smith over to Willow End; an' all about everywhere there's women knittin' an' waitin' an' 'oldin' their 'earns in.

I knows very well, Mrs. Mullaby, as your settin' here knittin' ain't no more use for pore Bill; but I do make bold to 'ope as you won't waste good wool, cos—cos of the others."

Mrs. Parsons had gone, and Mrs. Mullaby sat on before the comfortless grate. Her figure still was rigid, her hands were motionless, but presently her lips began to move. "Them others," she muttered, "mothers and gran'mothers . . . wives . . . waitin' . . . 'oldin'—I know—'oldin' their 'earns in . . . men dies an' as done with it, but them women . . ."

Presently, very slowly, Mrs. Mullaby rose; slowly she took one bone needle from the floor and then the other; slowly she returned to her seat, bent over the fender and raised the unravelled knitting; slowly she began to pick up the dropped stitches.

G. Colmore.

THAT SURPLUS!

By T. O'Meara

"One of the most serious results of the present war," we are told, "will be the vast increase in our superfluous female population." And this is commonly said with a little air of grievance, implying: "There now, what did I tell you? You *would* go and be a female, and now just see how superfluous you are! Serve you right!"

Frankly, and looking at the matter from the point of view of general social welfare, it is a little difficult to see just what the objection to the surplus female population is. One can easily understand that there might be very grave and weighty objections to a surplus male population; but since self-dependence and celibacy are said to be less irksome to the woman than to the man (considering the extreme irksomeness of the woman's alternative, this is probably true), the bray of the would-be moralist, already beginning to prick his long ears and roll the whites of his eyes in anticipation of the good time coming, falls rather flat. The most we can say is, that it is a little unfortunate there should be a mate for every man, when so many men had obviously, from an eugenic point of view, better remain unmated; but I have never seen this argument put forward from the male side. Naturally, we cannot approve of the indiscriminate slaughter of all the healthiest male stock of seven nations; but it is the men themselves who have willed the continuance of this suicidal policy, and upon their own heads be the consequences.

Moreover, it must be remembered—if we are to sweep sentiment aside and consider our losses only as they affect the stamina and fertility of the race—that the majority of men serving with the Colours are already parents, and that the rising generation, at present in the nursery or the schoolroom, remains untouched (though it may suffer indirectly) and keeps the proportion of the sexes at a fairly equal level. Therefore, our difficulty is likely to be only temporary; and when we have let in a little sane daylight to dispel those vague, alluring polygamous spectres which certain sociologists are already beginning to conjure up out of nothing, I think we must admit that the difficulty will be chiefly an economic one. More and more women will be thrown upon the labour market to earn their own living (a very good thing for them), and sooner or later they will be forced, by sheer pressure of necessity, into many of the better-paid departments which man has been wont to

monopolise for himself. He knows this—it alarms and annoys him; and he expresses his alarm and annoyance by irrelevant splutterings about the coming plague of unsatisfied spinsters—anything to distract public attention from the unromantic fact that the spinsters are chiefly unsatisfied because he has hitherto collared all the most interesting jobs and all the snuggest salaries. But the public, which first and foremost demands efficiency, will not care two straws whether efficiency wears trousers or petticoats. How many of us know whether our books were bound, our shoeleather stitched, our butter churned, or our business letters written by a man or a woman? We don't know; and what is more, we don't care, so long as the books are well bound, the shoes comfortable, the butter appetising, and the letters lucid and free from inaccuracies. And there will probably be numerous gaps in our public services, besides those made by the enemy's missiles, during the next ten years. The genteel young clerk or Civil Servant who has tasted the joys of an open-air life is not going to be won back to his office stool in a hurry. Like Kipling's returned volunteer, he will ask himself:

Me, that have been what I've been,
Me, that have gone where I've gone,
Me, that have seen what I've seen—
How can I ever take on
With awful old England again?—Me!

We need not disparage this mood, I think—especially as it leaves all the more room for his sisters.

So do not let us take all this chatter about the coming surplus too seriously. Perhaps we may find that it is being purposely exaggerated in certain quarters in order to prepare us for the regretful announcement that, whilst nothing would give our legislators greater pleasure than to grant us the vote just now, they really do not feel it consistent with their duty to the nation, in consequence of the unfortunate surplus of our female population, &c., &c., &c.

For, apart from the large number of male electors over military age, every year sees more lads growing to adolescence; the balance will very soon swing true again; and to delay our enfranchisement on the alleged pretext of a present undue preponderance of feminine influence would be an evasion so transparent as to be simply ludicrous. We have had enough of those evasions; and somehow they recall Mr. E. V. Lucas's delightful Irishman, who put forward as a solemn fact of natural history the remarkable statement that "No camel will ever cross a stream of water unless it has crossed it before!"

NEW BOOKS

THE WAY OF PEACE*

"Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord." It is an old text, but if only our modern rulers and diplomats had approached the burning questions of to-day in that spirit, what an infinitude of anguish and loss the modern world would have escaped! It is that spirit of perfect reasonableness which gives Norman Angell his distinction as a political thinker. Take up any part of his work, and you will find it an exercise in calm and friendly reasoning. He attacks the traditional and almost unquestioned dogmas of national greatness and international rivalry; yet he has probably never written a line of denunciation. Some might call him a satirist because he exposes the self-deceptions and hypocrisies of national self-satisfaction; but his satire has no touch of bitterness and little of reproach. Many call him Utopian, but there is nothing visionary or impossible in his proposals, and even as a pacifist he is not extreme. With a kind of Platonic calm he follows out the course of logical argument wherever it may lead. "Come now and let us reason together"—that is his method, and in the method lies his strength.

The Passion of Custom

His weakness also; for, as we Suffragists have learnt, large numbers of mankind are incapable of reason, or else they disregard it. Reason does not "appeal" to them, as they say. What does appeal to them is passion—the easy passion of custom, of prejudice, of fixed and traditional dislikes or approval. It is these established and rooted passions which Norman Angell, like Suffragists and all pioneers, is up against, and they need a deal of shaking. Thus when he tells us, and proves in his entirely reasonable manner, that the inhabitants of no nation gain materially or morally, in wealth or in happiness, by conquering another, mankind stares at him, puffs its chest, talks about virility, and casts a new gun. Or when he proves beyond question of reason that a great nation cannot be "crushed," "smashed," or even "beaten to its knees," the patriot, sword in hand, stares again and bids him wait and see. "Who hath believed our report?" (if one may quote from Isaiah again) is the cry of all prophets, and the mere reasonable the prophecy; the more despairing is the cry. In answer to the scorn, ridicule, and distortion with which his main contentions have been received, Norman Angell here republishes one section of his conspicuous work, "The Great Illusion," prefacing it with a hundred pages on the present European situation and the only conditions which would make hope possible.

How to Cure Prussianism

He recognises the evil of the so-called Prussian ideal of military domination. He agrees that it must not be allowed to emerge victorious. But his main positions in regard to the war are that you cannot cure Germans of Prussianism by overpowering their armies and invading their country; that belief in false doctrine cannot be corrected by force, but only by a general recognition of its fallacy; and that a better Europe depends, not upon the military defeat of a particular nation, but upon the knowledge that the struggle for domination which all people have pursued when opportunity offered, is in itself a barren and evil thing, adding nothing to the welfare of those who succeed in it. Enlightenment of mind—what used to be called "change of heart"—is the only means of dispelling a traditional illusion, and Suffragists, who themselves have to contend against

all the prejudices of unreason, will follow with special profit this courageous author's course of argument, so rich in the moment's interest and illustration.

H. W. N.

MAY WYNNE'S NEW NOVEL*

Miss Wynne has accustomed us to the swash-buckling captain and the incomparably beautiful heroine, both set in historical surroundings and destined from the first page of her books to a happy ending; and her newest publication, "The Hero of Urbino," does not disappoint us in any of these directions. There are, in fact, two principal heroes—the noble, dashing, handsome Paolo di Merletto, and the strong, silent man of iron with heart of gold, Gian Brizio. There is only one heroine, however, and her difficulty in making up her mind as to which of

her two lovers she really wants to marry introduces a human element into the tale of blood and slaughter, which would be strengthened if the surpassingly beautiful Angela della Vincini were a real person. The men are to some extent real persons; they are distinguishable from one another, which is something in a romance of this kind; but Angela is just like any other maiden in any other story in which there is a clash of swords from the first page to the last. We can bear this in the books of the male romanticist. But we have a right to demand at the hands of a woman writer that at least her heroines should not behave like wax dolls, and talk almost as mechanically. It is especially a pity that Miss Wynne, whose stories are essentially readable, should not take more trouble over her women characters.

ROUND THE WORLD

SOLDIERS' WIVES

The Insulting Circular

The Women's Local Government Society has sent an admirably worded letter to Lord Kitchener, calling for the withdrawal of the circular placing soldiers' wives under police supervision, which, while it is said not to have been put in force, is still unrepealed. The reasons given for their request are as follows:—

1. That the alarming statements as to drinking by soldiers' wives which called forth the circulars cannot be maintained in the face of the results of careful investigations.
2. That to subject a woman to police supervision instead of taking her case into court where her guilt or innocence can be proved is really, however kind the intention, to deprive her of the protection of the law—thus to their injury differentiating wives and dependants of soldiers and sailors from every other class of the community.
3. That such employment of the police would be likely to impair the good relations between the people and the force.
4. That for State interference directed towards checking misconduct and protecting children, the law (which includes the Children Act) is adequate if efficiently administered.
5. That the so-called allowances are actually wages offered for work, and hence there should be no question of withholding except after conviction and for the benefit of the family.
6. That the withdrawal of the departmental circulars referred to will terminate discontent and restore confidence.

Among the signatories are Lady Strachey, Lady Lockyer, Mrs. Creighton, Miss Bertha Mason, Miss Wyatt Papworth, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Lady Selborne, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden Unwin.

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

Two New Campaign States

Two recent Suffrage successes in the United States prove that the European War is not retarding progress over there. At the beginning of February the resolution to submit to the referendum of the voters next November the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution passed the New York State Senate, having already passed the Lower House. Suffragists in this important Eastern State are now concentrating on a campaign to secure success in the referendum.

Still more significant is a similar success in a Southern State—West Virginia—where the Suffrage amendment passed both Houses of the Legislature on January 26, and, since in this State the amendment need pass only once through the Legislature, and not twice, as in most States, it will be submitted to the referendum as early as possible, that is, in 1916.

Two Others Pending

In Pennsylvania and in New Jersey the Lower House passed the Suffrage resolution on February 9 and February 1 respectively; and, if successful in the Upper House in both cases, this will be submitted to the referendum of the voters in November and September respectively of this year.

In Texas and Tennessee

In Texas the Suffrage amendment was reported favourably by the Lower House on January 27. It

* "The Hero of Urbino." By May Wynne. (London: Stanley, Paul and Co. Price 6s.)

will require a two-thirds majority to pass. In Arkansas, the Suffrage amendment passed the Upper House on February 1.

The Tennessee Legislature has just passed the Suffrage amendment for the first time.

Presidential Suffrage

Bills to give to women Presidential Suffrage, as enjoyed by the women of Illinois, have been introduced in the Legislatures of Michigan, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and are shortly to be introduced in Rhode Island (where it suffered defeat last year), Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maine.

In Oklahoma

A proposal is on foot to submit the measure to enfranchise the women of Oklahoma to a referendum of women only.

Another Woman Senator

Miss Kathryn Clarke has been elected a Member of the Oregon Senate. She defeated two men candidates by a majority of 100 votes, and will be the third woman Senator in the United States, the other two being Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, of Colorado, and Mrs. Francis Willard Munds, of Arizona.

IN AUSTRALIA

Women Voters Declare for Peace

The Women's Political Union of Victoria, of which Miss Vida Goldstein is President, made the following demands in a Christmas message calling for Peace on Earth and Goodwill to Men:—

1. Representation of a democratic basis of the men and women of all countries at the Hague Conference.
2. That all international disputes shall be settled by a tribunal on which the people are represented as above.
3. Abolition of compulsory military training.
4. Government control of the manufacture of armaments, and prohibition of their export to foreign countries.
5. Abolition of secret diplomacy under submission of treaties to a referendum of the public.
6. Government prohibition of the export of capital to foreign countries except for peaceful purposes.

The message goes on to say: We pledge ourselves to offer to the women of all nations our loyal support in their efforts to destroy war. We greet them in the name of our common womanhood, and express our faith in their will and power to destroy within their own country the forces making for the destruction of human life, which to the free, awakened woman of the world is sacred.

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Criminal Assault

The *Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph* (February 20) reports case of a married soldier charged before Mr. Justice Ridley at the Kent Assizes with criminally assaulting a girl of 17 in a lane. The jury found him guilty of indecent assault.

Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

Assault on a Woman

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (October 22) reports case of a miner charged at the West Riding Quarter Sessions, before Mr. G. B. C. Yarborough, with unlawfully wounding a woman who was nursing a baby. He threatened and pushed her, and tried to cut her throat with a razor. In defending herself she received several cuts on her hands.

Sentence: *Bound over in £5 for six months.*

Gross Cruelty to Dog

The *Gloucester Journal* (January 30) reports case of a collier summoned at Littledean Petty Sessions, before Messrs. J. Penberthy (chairman) Owen Staley, and John Cooksey, for cruelly ill-treating and beating a dog, breaking its hip and badly bruising it.

Sentence: *Fined 10s. and 14s. costs.*

AN IMPROVEMENT

It is our unhappy duty so often to record cases of gross leniency shown by Judges to men convicted of offences against girls and young children, that we have real satisfaction in being able to refer to at least two recent instances in the Courts, showing that at last some improvement is being effected in this direction. The first parallel given in our table of punishments above shows, it is true, the greater importance attached to the desertion of a soldier than to a soldier's assault upon a young girl; but in this case Mr. Justice Ridley is not to blame for the lesser sentence which is the maximum for the offence in question. Nor was it his doing that the jury altered the charge to the milder one, for he stated that he did not believe a word of the prisoner's story. But the comparison still holds good, for it shows how much more possible it is under our present system to give a severe sentence for an offence involving the loss of a man's service in the army than for an offence involving a serious injury, physical and moral, to a girl of 17. That it is not only possible, but usual, to punish offences of any kind against property more severely than those committed against the person our readers already know well, and we show it again in the further comparisons given in the above table.

Another Instance

The second instance to which we have referred, of a slight improvement in the standard of sentences given in our Courts, occurred at the recent Herefordshire Assizes. Mr. Justice Avery, summing up in a case of alleged indecent assault on a little girl of 11, discarded the usual suggestion that the child did anything in the way of an invitation, pointed out that 13 was the age of consent in a case of indecent assault, and said that if the defendant had not been interrupted in time he would have probably committed the more serious offence and made himself liable to penal servitude for life. The Judge also pointed out that to say the prisoner was drunk was no answer to the charge. The jury at once returned a verdict of guilty, and a sentence of eighteen months' hard labour was passed. If more of our administrators of justice took this strong line about gross offences of this kind it would have a real effect on public opinion, and, we firmly believe, on the number of such crimes committed.

MRS. DAVIS' PROTEST

We commented last week on the courageous protest made by Mrs. Davis (wife of the Rev. Herbert Davis,

HEAVY SENTENCES

Escaping from Prison

The *Daily Mail* (February 17) reports case of a soldier, a gunner, found guilty at a Belfast court-martial of escaping while undergoing imprisonment for desertion and fraudulent enlistment.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude and to be discharged from Army.*

Stealing Barley

The *Daily Mail* (February 10) reports case of a maltster indicted at the Essex Assizes for stealing barley, and of a constructor indicted for receiving it, knowing it to have been stolen. There was a previous conviction against the former for arson.

Sentence: *The maltster to five years' penal servitude, and the constructor to nine months' hard labour.*

Loitering

The *Morning Advertiser* (February 6) reports case of a bookmaker's clerk brought up for sentence before Mr. Allan Lawrie at London Sessions for loitering in Oxford Street with intent to commit a felony. He pleaded that he could get no work.

Sentence: *Nine months' hard labour.*

who was a member of the United Suffragists' deputation to Colonel East on the occasion of the Cardiff court-martial of women at the Herefordshire Assizes, after sentence had been passed on a domestic servant for the murder of her illegitimate child. Mrs. Davis, in a letter to the *Hereford Times*, thus explains her action, which in our eyes, of course, needs no explanation:—

"I protested against the sentence passed upon Lucy Carter not because I look upon her terrible deed as right, but because it is so utterly unjust to punish the woman only in a case like this and not the man, who is morally just as guilty and yet is not recognised by the law as such in any way. It is well known by mothers—not equally so by men, though doctors apparently admit it—that very often at such a critical time, when a woman is overcome by pain and mental anguish, coupled (as in this case) with absence of all decent comfort, she may be quite irresponsible for her actions, and has very often in her misery, despair, and cowardly desertion been guilty of very unnatural crimes.

"I maintain that never will justice be shown to my sex (especially to my poorer sisters) till qualified women are allowed to fill positions in our Courts equally with men, to form half the jury, and to act as magistrates and judges. The woman's point of view must be expressed in order to get that justice which all pure-minded men as well as women desire to prevail, and this can be done in no other way than the one I have already stated. A great deal of the illegitimacy which now exists would disappear as a matter of course if bastard children (as in Norway, where women are enfranchised) were made by law to be named after the father instead of the mother, if the father were made to support the child equally with his legitimate children, and in every way were to be recognised publicly as father. I think most people would agree that these urgent reforms would be for the good of 'fallen' men equally with their victims, 'fallen' women.

"I must here explain that I had to take the unusual course of speaking in a court of justice (but after the case was closed) because I, with so many other women, desire to mend our shameful laws, and not from any disrespect for the office of the Judge."

WOMEN AND DRINK

Soldiers' Wives in Blackburn

Licensing Justices are not remarkable for their sense of justice—or shall we say humour? At the annual licensing sessions for Blackburn, held on February 11, a solemn debate was held on the advisability of making a

restrictive order, referring to women only, with regard to the serving of intoxicating drinks. And all because, since the last annual licensing meeting, an increase of nineteen women had been shown in convictions for drunkenness, while there was a decrease of sixty-one men! Leaving aside the fact that the absence of a large number of men through enlistment probably accounted for the figures in question, these worthy keepers of the souls of our soldiers' wives—for they hinted that the separation allowance was at the bottom of the alarming increase—did not even consider the fact that the number of convictions during the year still showed 314 men as against only 120 women. Yet it seemed to them a fair thing to propose to make restrictive orders for women and not for men! Happily, they were unable to do so because the Home Secretary seems to have replied to their application for his consent, that the Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restrictions) Act did not allow a restrictive order applied to females alone. It is, perhaps, a sign of grace in Mr. McKenna that he did not point out that there are other ways of taking away the woman's right to drink without touching the man's, as shown in the "agreement" come to in the London Metropolitan district, to refuse drink to women before 11.30 a.m., and in many military orders of a similar character issued against women in different military centres. But the point we wish immediately to emphasize is that while men drunkards still preponderate everywhere over women drunkards, the slightest increase in the number of the latter sets everybody preaching, and all agog to punish what is, at worst, still the vastly more temperate sex.

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THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers, March 3, Lady Muir Mackenzie, "British Women's Hospital Unit for Serbia," Miss Anna Munro. Chair, Miss Jacobs. Admission free.

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